

Mr. C—s L<sup>uca</sup>s's  
S P E E C H  
TO THE  
CORPORATIONS  
OF THE  
CITY of DUBLIN.  
IN A  
L E T T E R  
FROM

A GENTLEMAN in this CITY, to his FRIEND in  
the COUNTRY.

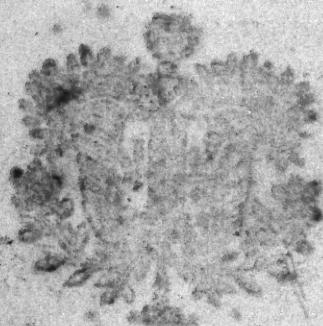
---



---

Printed in the Year, 1748.  
(Price, One Penny.)

Mr. C—s L—s's  
 SPEECH  
 TO THE  
 CORPORATION  
 OF THE  
 CITY OF DUBLIN.  
 IN A  
 LETTER  
 A GENTLEMAN IN THIS CITY, to his Friend in  
 the COUNTRY.



Printed in the Year, 1748.  
 (Price, One Penny.)



## LETTER, &amp;c.

**I** Must needs confess that your last Letter has not given me the usual Pleasure I have so often found in your learned as well as genteel Correspondence; the open Prepossession in favour of one of our Candidates, Mr. Diggs, has not a little surprized me, as I expected from your Penetration and Candour, that the Man of greatest Merit and Parts would have undoubtedly fallen under your Notice, and in Consequence have engaged your good Wishes. I must own that the Objections you mention against Mr. Diggs, are frivolous and weak; but then the Refutation of these are by no means conclusive of his being the fittest Person to represent us in Parliament: His Honesty, Wealth, and Skill in Trade can not outweigh the Genius, elevated Sentiments, Zeal and disinterested Spirit of Mr. Lucas. This is he, whom take all in all, I ne'er shall see his like again. Was he not the first in the Opposition against the *Aldermen*? Was it not owing to his Pen and Labour that the Proceedings of the Commons were made publick? Was he not Chairman of the Committee appointed to enquire into the Rights of the Commons? What Pains has he taken to instruct us in our Rights and Priviledges! Has he not given Eyes to the Blind, and Ears to the Deaf? Not to see such Merit were Blindness, not to reward it, Ingratitude. One of his great Qualifications you who live in the Country have not had an Opportunity of being acquainted with, I mean

mean his *Ciceronian* Eloquence, 'Tis that charms our Ears, warms our Hearts, and wins upon our Souls : 'Tis this, that has given the lowest Tradesman the noble Spirit of Freedom, which now sparkles in every Eye, and enlivens every Face. My weak Thoughts could never convey a strong Idea of this his shining Talent : For which reason I have with the utmost Pains collected his Speech, at least the most material parts of his Speeches, to the several Corporations of the City of *Dublin* : For as he, thro' Modesty, has declined publishing his Orations, though pressed by many Friends ; I thought I could not with Justice conceal what I was sure would be useful to the Publick, as well as agreeable to you. I must own that the subjoyned Oration labours under many Disadvantages, as it now appears : The ornamental Parts are much abridged, as that is the Substance of what he could not deliver in less than an hour and three quarters.

However let your Imagination, my dear Friend, supply the deficiency of my Description : Represent to yourself a Train of Followers gentle and simple, with Cassocks and Swords, as well as Hammer and Aprons, crowding after the Patriot to the Place of Speech : Imagine an handsome Figure in proper attitude, with graceful gesture and musical Tone, bewailing the miseries of his Country, and pointing out the Methods of Redress : Hear him thunder out his just invectives against our common Oppressors, who, stung with conscious Guilt, shrink from his just rebuke ; while gaping throngs hang on his Words, and imbibe Instruction, while they drink up his Discourse. To your fancy I must then be indebted for some of the Graces of this Speech, which if it please you in reading half as much as me in hearing, my Labour will have met with its Reward, and my End be answered, I am

Your very Humble Servant,

URBANUS.



Mr. C—S—L—S—  
S P E E C H  
TO THE

Master, Wardens, and Brethren, of the Corporation of ———

SIR,

I Must suppose that in every Assembly of Freemen, something relating to Liberty is concerned; and as it becomes every Citizen to offer his best Advice on every Occasion, I hope that my coming amongst you will not be thought an Intrusion, especially as what I have to say relates to that most important Affair, the Election of a Citizen to represent you in Parliament.

I do not pretend to the Arts of Oratory, like those Gentlemen, who boast of a higher Birth, and more polite Education; what I have to say does not stand in need of any of those Helps, and, I hope, my worthy Fellow-Citizens will accept my weak Endeavours, and will hearken to Truths laid down in artless Truth and Simplicity.

That you may know, Sir, whom it is your business to chuse, it is necessary you should be acquainted with our Political History, and that of our City, that you may know how much we have been imposed on, and under what grievous Chains and servile Fetters, we, who were born, as well as all the Sons of Adam, to Liberty, now labour under.—This has no way, so easily happened as from the Corruption, the Venality of our Parliaments, who have betrayed their Trusts, have become your Masters as soon as they were admitted into the House—And so far are they

from answering their Institution, or regarding their Constituents, that you have every one of you found it more difficult to get Franks from your own Members than from any other Gentleman. But it was not so always with them. By the Laws and Customs of *England* the Representatives used to receive Wages from their Constituents, they were then dependent on them, but now they are loosed from all Obligation, and are allured by Offices and Promises, and become Dependents on the Ministry, instead of being Dependents on the People.

We had formerly, Sir, the greatest Powers and Privileges, that any People could enjoy. In the Reign of *Henry the Second* this Country was governed by Five *Irish Kings*; and the King of *Leinster* being under Difficulties, applied for relief to the King of *England*, who was so busy in *France*, that he could not afford him much help—However, he by his Letters patent granted Licence to all his Subjects to assist the King of *Leinster*—Upon which *Strongbow* came over here with many Adventurers, and took *Wexford*, *Waterford* and *Dublin*: A little after, King *Henry the Second* came over, encouraged by the Successes of these Adventurers, and all the People submitted to him.—They desired to be governed by the English Laws, which the King granted, and gave them a *Modus* to hold Parliaments by, and afterwards at a general Meeting at *Lismore*, all the Grants of the King were afterwards confirmed and sworn to.—In this we have an Advantage even over *England*; they talk there very much of an Original Compact between King and People, but where is this compact to be found? But ours is on Record, and I defy any one to shew a more fair Original Compact between a King and a People, than this between us and King *Henry the Second*, *That we should enjoy the like Liberties and Immunities, and be governed by the same mild Terms both Civil and Ecclesiastical as the People of England.*

From



From which it is manifest, that there were no Laws imposed on the People of *Ireland*, by any Authority of the Parliament of *England*, nor any Law introduced into that Kingdom by *Henry*, but by the Consent and Allowance of the People of *Ireland*, for both the Civil and Ecclesiastical State were settled there solely by the King's Authority, and their own good wills: And not only the Laws of *England*, but the manner of holding Parliaments in *Ireland*, to make Laws of their own (which is the Foundation and Bulwark of the People's Liberties and Properties,) was directed and Established there by *Henry* the Second, as if he were resolved that no other Person or Persons should be the Founders of the Government of *Ireland*, but himself and the consent of the People, who submitted themselves to him against all Persons whatsoever.

Soon after King *Henry* had made us these Compacts; I say, Sir, about six Years after, he returned to *England*, he created his younger Son *John* Lord of *Ireland*: who came over here and took Possession of his new Kingdom.

And here give me Leave to observe, Sir, that by this Donation of the Kingdom of *Ireland* to King *John*, *Ireland* was most eminently set apart again, as a separate and distinct Kingdom by itself from the Kingdom of *England*, and did so continue until the Kingdom of *England* descended and came unto King *John* after the Death of his Brother *Richard* the First, King of *England*, which was about twenty two Years after his being made King of *Ireland*: During which Space of twenty two Years, both whilst his Father *Henry* the Second, and his Brother *Richard* the First, were living and reigning, King *John* made divers Grants and Charters to his Subjects of *Ireland*, which are yet in being in this Kingdom, wherein he stiles himself *Dominus Hiberniæ*, & Comes *Meritonie*, the constant Stile till *Henry* the Eighth's Time. By which Charters both the City of *Dublin*, and divers other Corporations, enjoy many Privileges and Franchises to this Day. But after the said Grant of the Kingdom of *Ireland* to King *John*, neither his Father *Henry* the Second

cond, nor his Brother King *Richard* the First, Kings of *England*, ever stiled themselves during their Lives King or Lord of *Ireland*; for the Dominion and Regality of *Ireland*, was wholly and separately Vested in King *John*, being absolutely granted to him without Reservation, and he being created King in the Parliament at *Oxford*, under the stile and title of Lord of *Ireland*, enjoyed all manner of kingly Jurisdiction, Preheminence, and Authority Royal, belonging unto the Imperial State and Majesty of a King, as are the expresse words of the *Irish* Statute, by which Statute the Stile of *Dominus*, was changed to that of *Rex Hibernie*.

Let us then suppose, that *Richard* the first, King *John*'s elder Brother, had not died without Issue, but that his Progeny had sat on the Throne of *England*, in a continued Succession to this Day: Let us likewise suppose the same of King *John*'s Progeny, in Relation to the Throne of *Ireland*: where then had been the Subordination of *Ireland* to the Parliament, or even to the King of *England*? Certainly no such Thing could have been then pretended: therefore if any such Subordination there be, it must arise from something that followed after the Descent of *England* to King *John*, for by that Descent *England* might as properly be subordinate to *Ireland*, as the reverse: *Ireland* being vested, in the Royal Person of King *John* two and twenty Years before his Accession to the Crown of *England*, and being a more antient Kingdom than the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* 3<sup>d</sup>. granted us a *Magna Charta* as ample and as full as what he granted to *England*, and we enjoyed all the Privileges, Immunities, and Powers, that even our Brethren in *England* could, untill the Reign of *Henry* VII. At which Time, Sir, *Poynings*, first appointed the Races at the *Caragh*, and invited all the Nobility and Gentry to partake of the Diversion of the Races, which lasted three Days, and whilst they were thus amusing themselves, he posted back to *Drogheda*, where a few of his Creatures met him, and passed an Act which entirely

altered



altered our Legislature, and instead of making it consist of King, Lords and Commons, makes it now Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council---King and Attorney General in *England*, Lords and Commons in *Ireland*---for before that Time the Lord Lieutenant cou'd pass any Law here without applying to *England*, but this Change happened by the Consent of our own Legislature, and their Corruption made us dependent; but this is not the worst, we have been bound by Laws, to which we never gave our Consent; We have had, Sir, the Legislature taken from our House of Lords, by which it becomes inconvenient, and too expensive for a Freeman, to bring an Appeal against the Judgments of our Courts here, and we are often obliged to give up our Rights for want of Money or leisure to prosecute them in another Kingdom: This, Sir, was occasioned by some of those Judges they have Infested us with from *England*, who well knew what they came about---Two of these Judges, *Gilbert* and *Dalben* refused to execute the Decree of our own House of Lords, but illegally and arbitrarily put in Execution the Decree of their Masters the House of Lords in *England*, for which *Gilbert* was made a Peer, and the other was knighted, like some of our modern Knights, and in return they brought in an Act to destroy our Legislature.

I know, Sir, it is said, we can have at present no retrospect on these Proceedings---that these wounds to our Constitution are incurable---but Sir, if it be true, that these Incroachments are due to our Representatives, and supported by the Ministry, who infested us with their own Creatures the Judges, who were always ready to join in any Scheme to enlarge the Power of the Crown; and wou'd to God, Sir, this Race of Judges had then had an End! It is to be remedied by the Virtue, Sense and Resolution of your Representatives; Whoever has Virtue to oppose, will undoubtedly restore: Were I to tell my Opinion, I am sure there is one Expedient which will inevitably knock it on the Head, and that is, one single Resolution of a brave, virtuous,

trious, and free House of Commons, that any Judge, who would execute an English Law, is an Enemy to his Country--but they never complained, but were willing to be Slaves. People cannot be so wicked sure, as to refuse you what is just, and all our Miseries arise from the Supineness, Ignorance, and Corruption of your Representatives.---After this Account of the Encroachments on the Constitution of the Kingdom, it will be proper for us to turn our Eyes on that of this City.

The Government is a Model of the Great Corporation of the Kingdom, of which the King is supreme Magistrate, not Lord; the People may go to Law with him, as well as with any of his Subjects, he has all the Power to do Good, but none to do Evil; he is one of the three Estates, and his Prerogative is bounded by the Laws, and only allowed him for doing Good; next to him are the Lords, which the King has the power of Creating, but tho' he can give Titles, he cannot give Honour; the Persons he Enobles must be Commoners, they must be Men of Virtue, Men of Eminence, and the King cannot give Honour but to those, who are first approved by the People; he only declares by Patent the Fame which the People, the only Fountain of Honour, have already given them.

The Commons are Composed of the Representatives of the People, who chuse for Counties Knights, for Villages Burgeesses, and for City's Citizens.---In former times, the King, Lords, and Commons sat together; so did our Mayors and the Citizens.---The City of *Dublin*, by the Laws of Nature as well as by the Laws of the Kingdom, is Composed of the Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens; our Constitution, is an improvement on our national Constitution, or improvement on the Roman Tribunitia Power; by our Constitution, Sir, it is in the power of any one Citizen to put a negative on the resolution of the Common-Council, and if he be seconded, the Question must be determined by a Poll of all the Citizens: This is, what *Rome* in all her grandeur, and when she was Mistress of the whole World, cou'd not Boast of.--- But the Aldermen,



Aldermen, who were at first Chosen by the People out of the Gravest and Wisest of the Citizens, grown old in the service of the City, were not satisfied with these Honours, but have always been endeavouring to get all the Power in their own hands; they now share it among themselves, and with their favourite Guild. They first took the opportunity in the Reign of that Monster *Richard 3d*, who waded to the Crown thro' an Ocean of Blood, and whose Policy it was to give to the Few, the Power that was lodged in the Many, to wrest from the Commons and Citizens the Election of the first Magistrate.--In *Charles the First's* time, when Civil fury rose so high, they set up the *Monday Book*, so called, because the first resolution made in them, was to meet every *Monday* to do things privately amongst themselves, and they made Elections, and did every other Business without consulting the Commons, 'till they got themselves Confirmed in their Usurpations by the new Rules in 1672---they have since Elected the Commons from a double Return made to them from the Corporations, and admit none but those, who have God-fathers at the Board, who can promise for their Passive-obedience, and Non-resistance; these Rules were made in the Reign of *Charles the second*, when a deluge of Corruption had spread it self over the Nation, by a pack'd Parliament, who gave to the Privy Council a power to do what they durst not do themselves; for the Parliament is open, but the Privy Council cou'd do things secretly, and they made these new Rules the very Day their Power was to expire, that they might hear no Reason, nor receive Application for Redress. Since that time the Aldermen have gone on in subverting the Rights of the Commons, particularly in the Election of Aldermen, and in the Government of the Blue-Coat Hospital; they have changed the very form of Business in the Common-Council, for all Petitions originally came from the Commons, and every thing was done in Parliament at *prière des Communes*, and in the City by Petition of certain of the Commons, for the King, no more than  
 the

the Mayor, has no negative, but only a right of Postponing any Bill or Petition which is presented to him. But now, 'tis the Board alone, who now form these Petitions, and the Commons do not see them, untill they come to them from the Aldermen with their Imperial Mandate, *Granted*. When any of these Petitions are Referred to a Committee, they chuse a Sub-committee, who are best suited to their purpose, and the Report is afterwards signed by the Commoners on the Stair-head, in the presence of their God-fathers and Sponsors.

But in the Government of the Blue-Coat Hospital, things go yet worse, and here the Aldermen have not Ignorance to Plead; for some of them can Read, and the Charter is in English; and they are besides assisted by the advice of Judges and other Persons, whom they have, contrary to Charter, associated to their Councils. Fortified with these Barriers against the Complaints of the Commons and Citizens, they have perverted the very End of this Establishment, which had it been kept up to its original Institution, would by this time have vied with the famous Schools of *Eaton*, and of *Westminster*.— But now the Sons of Freemen, who have greatly Contributed to this Charity, (and I have the List at home of the Sums our Predecessors have given to this Foundation,) the Sons of Freemen are left to wander about the Streets, where they contract all manner of Vice, and are refused the Benefit of this Charity; whilst the Sons of Footmen, the very gleanings of Mankind, are preferred, and the spurious off-spring of Footmen, and for what I know of the Governors themselves, are put in the places of our own Children.

And here I must observe to you, that an Alderman can never be so proper a Representative for this City, as a Commoner, as they would not, if they could, Represent their Grievance, and, except Alderman *Preneb*, I believe I may affirm, not one of your Aldermen ever did his Duty in Parliament; but indeed, they do not know their Rights and yours; and no wonder, the Business was at some time managed by a Parcel of ser-

vile



vile Men, Chosen by Aldermen, who cou'd not write their Names, and we have many Acts in our Records, Signed by Aldermen with their Marks---They have suffered many of the best Revenues of the City to be lost by their Ignorance; the Land Gabel signifies a Land Tax, or a Rent due to the Crown, which was afterwards Remitted to the City; but the Sheriffs did then receive it for the City, and the Tax was 1 shilling an house, the Sheriffs did since Claim it as due to them, and Reduced it to 4 pence per house, but because Gabel sounds very like Cable, and that some Body had found out, that there had formerly been a Cable with a Ferry-boat, where *Essex Bridge* now stands; they supposed, that this Land Gabel was Long Cable money, and that, as the Bridge was built, the money to buy long Cables ought not to be Leveyed any more, and the Aldermen who knew nothing of the Foundation of this Tax, thought proper to Abolish it: this Revenue is now lost to the City; it is the same with regard to the three-penny Customs, it was given to the City, as Proprietors of the City and River, and to defray the Expence they were at to make a Channel, and erecting Lights for the River, which was not then Navigable, and we had a Patent for Loading and Unloading at *Dalky*.

This Right was contested to us in the Reign of *James* the First, but Judgment was given in Favour of the City; it is a Case in the Law Books, of which the Aldermen are so ignorant, that they were used to compound it with the Foreigners. In the Reign of *Charles* First, it was rented to an Alderman at three Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and he was obliged to go to Law with a Dutch Merchant, and obtained a Decree against him---but so little is all this known, that it was given up, and never sued for since the Year 1731.

I know some Objections have been made against me for taking a Lease of them, as if by this I had acknowledged the Authority of the Aldermen, but I defy the World to say, I ever petitioned them---My Petition was to the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens,

Citizens, the Aldermen were not so much as mentioned in it---And for this I appeal to the Petition it self, which is in the Tholsel---my Reason for engaging in this was Two-fold---

First, a Prospect I have of recovering this for the City with some Advantage to my self---but the other, and the most prevailing, was to get a Clause which I had inserted in my Lease, for a Liberty to view and examine, when I thought proper, into the Records of the City; and I thought, that the Rent I was obliged to pay for this Liberty, was but a Trifle, compared to the Opportunity this will give me of examining farther into your Rights, and the Encroachments made on them by the Aldermen.

This same Ignorance has betrayed the Aldermen into another mistake of their Rights, and made them give up theirs to the Petty Customs. You all know, there is lately arrived from *England* here one Y-----, who ignorant of our Laws, has dared to dispute our Rights to the Custom on Hay, and from a Perverse-ness of Heart, has made him endeavour to take away our Revenues---Here was a Suit at Law Commenced---and our wise Aldermen, not knowing their Right, have suffered themselves to be nonsuited; Of this Iniquity, as of a Victory, he publickly boasts, and now every body's Hay passes thro' that Gate unmolested, and if any is stopt, the Carrier say's It is Y-----, Nay, and they dare not meddle with it.

Thus are all our Revenues dissipated or given up, nor are the Aldermen more watchful of their own Rights, than of yours-----You must all remember, when the late L----M--- *Tew* was obliged to appear before the Committee of the H--- of C---, and what Indignity he was offer'd there. How they wanted to strip him of the Ensigns of Magistracy, which he cou'd not have put off without an Affront even to the Committee---He was indeed then supported by two of your Aldermen; but what did they do or say? Why, Sir, as Aldermen generally do and say, they remained Dumb---Silent---Inactive---

I fear

*to May or*



I fear to trespass too long on your Patience, but one Thing more and I have done---I have had the honour of being on the Committee about the Mills of *Island Bridge*; the City wanted a Supply of Water, and they cou'd not, or wou'd not think of a better Method, than from those Mills, which they resolv'd at any Price to Purchase; Accordingly, Sir, they appointed a Committee to treat with the Owner, and that was no sooner done, than this Committee subdivided itself into a Committee of 4 Persons; and an Alderman, who had a large Mortgage on them, or at least to whom the Proprietor owed a considerable Sum of Money, was one of this Sub-committee-- This sub-committee met, where indeed all sub-committees do ought to meet---at a Tavern---and there they struck up a Bargain which the Proprietor for three thousand five hundred Pounds, and these Mills had but very lately been publickly hawked about and offered for eighteen Hundred Pounds---Well Sir, Matters did not end here: When the Leases were drawn, and the Committee met to see them executed, I desired they might be read---but here I was told that it was mere matter of Form, and we were met only to put the Seal, and that it wou'd take up too much Time ----- However I insisted, and Mr. Recorder came over to my Opinion---and we found in these same Leases no less than Twenty Blanks--Twenty Blanks, which I suppose were to be filled afterwards in such manner, as wou'd best suit the former Owner---It wou'd not have been the first Time, that such Things have been done ---- We know that the City has lost a considerable Estate from a like Practice, when a Subcommittee was dining with the Person who agreed for a Lease for 99 Years, but whilst the Committee were carousing, filled up the Blanks to nine thousand nine hundred and ninety nine Years---I have not Time to go thro' the rest of the horrid Abuses under which you all labour.

After all this, Sir, who is fit to represent you? this is a hard Question, and I wish I cou'd dispense with answering it---but on these Occasions, when the Cause  
of

of Liberty is concerned, it does not become any Citizen to be modest—I will then venture to answer this important Question; he ought to be a Man, who is actuated by the Love of his Country, and who has shewn, that he is so by his former Behaviour——I shall not, like others, enumerate to you what Services I have done you, or make a Merit of them; What I did was no more than my Duty, and I shall continue my weak but honest Endeavours for your Service; whether or no you think proper to confer on me that high Trust, which you are now to dispose of. Every body must be sensible that I do not desire it from any Pride and Ambition—— Were I to regard myself only, I cou'd be well contented in the Sphere of Life I have acted in——I know that if this Place wou'd any Way distinguish me, it is only by Superior Toils, which I am ready to undergo for your Service——But whether you confer it on me or not, be assured I shall always and in every Station, endeavour to serve you to the last Drop of my Blood.

4 AP 54

F I N I S



